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Toward Understanding and Peace

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

by Senator Jim Abourezk

One of the most frequent requests which AMEU receives is for a "brief history of the Middle East Conflict". This article by Senator Abourezk answers this need. Additional copies are available from AMEU upon request.

Middle East oil flows indirectly to South Dakota and South Dakota taxpayers' money flows to the Middle East. Because United States foreign policy decisions in the Middle East have had a direct and adverse effect on the people of South Dakota, I believe it is of value to discuss the status of our Middle East policy and how, if at all, it should be changed. In understanding how we arrived at where we are today, it is essential to know the history of the Middle East conflict.

Turkish Rule Ended In 1918

What is now the Middle East, was, for 400 years, a part of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Turkish rule came to an end in 1918 after Arab leaders, having joined the Allies in World War I, fought with the British against Germany's ally, the Turks. T. E. Lawrence, or "Lawrence of Arabia," gained fame in his efforts to unify Bedouin tribes and other Arabs in their war against the Turks.

After the war, the big powers in the area, France and England, shared the administration of the Middle East, with Britain controlling the area known as Palestine, first by military administration, then by a League of Nations mandate.

During World War I, the British had played upon the Arabs' desire for independence from colonial rule in order to enlist them on the Allied side, primarily through promises of inde-

pendence to the Arabs given in 1915 and 1916.

While the British were promising independence to the Arabs, they were making a secret agreement with the French to divide the Middle East between them after the war.

The Zionist Movement

In this same era another force was moving toward a collision with Arab nationalism. Zionism, a Jewish political movement to establish a "homeland" for Jews, was active in Britain during World War I. Although the dream of a Jewish homeland was best articulated in 1896 by an Austrian, Theodore Herzl, the head of the British Zionist Federation, Dr. Chaim Weizmann provided access to the British government. Moving in British political circles, Dr. Weizmann and his associates succeeded in obtaining a commitment from the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, for British support for a homeland for Jews in Palestine. The famous "Balfour Declaration" of November 2, 1917, also pledged that the religious and civil rights of the Arabs in Palestine should be protected, but this clause was ignored in the years that followed.

Historians who have studied the background of the Balfour Declaration claim that Britain believed the issuance of such a declaration was important in securing support of both the British and American Jewish community for their war effort.

The Balfour Declaration became the foundation for British policy in Palestine and an important instrument for World Zionism in its efforts to establish a Jewish state. It also drew the lines for the conflict that is still raging in the Middle East.

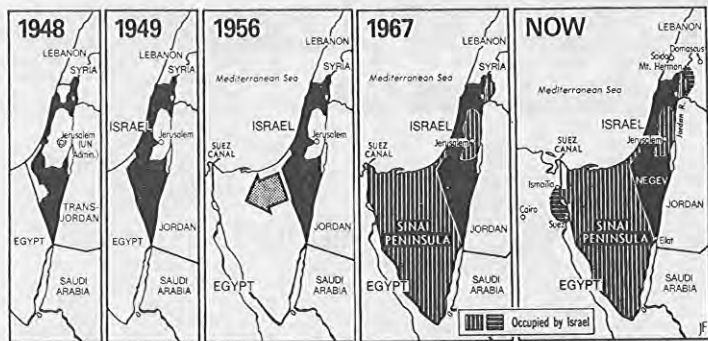
Immigration of Jews Into Palestine

While the Balfour Declaration was being written into the British Mandate Document, the British administration of Palestine allowed increased immigration of Jews into the Arab areas. This immigration policy without consultation with the Arabs inflamed their disappointment at non-fulfillment of British war-time promises of Arab independence and led to a breakout of fighting between Jews and Arabs.

In 1922, the year of the first census of Palestine, the Arab population stood at 565,000 compared to a Jewish population of only 84,000. By 1940, the Arab population increased, largely through the birthrate, to 1,014,000 (81%), while the Jewish population increased by both birth and immigration to an astronomical 464,000



Senator James Abourezk
U.S. Senator South Dakota



Expansion of Israel into Arab lands is shown by the above maps for the years when expansion occurred.

(452%). Violent clashes between the two populations increased as the immigration of Jews increased. The British, attempting to respond to the severe political problems, created by Jewish immigration, began to realize the futility of pursuing contradictory policies. Finally, in 1939, a British "White Paper" categorically stated:

"His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become part of a Jewish state."

This categorical step by Britain was taken as she saw war with Germany approaching. Among other concerns, Britain did not want troops committed to quelling civil disturbances in Palestine when they were needed elsewhere.

The Effect of World War II

Although Britain's official Palestine policy changed (in part because of the War), Hitler's insane plan to exterminate Europe's Jews contributed significantly to the eventual creation of the Jewish State. The World Zionist movement not only made the story of Hitler's atrocities known worldwide, but also offered a solution—send those who escaped Hitler to Palestine and make it a Jewish state.

In his book, *The Evasive Peace*, Dr. John Davis succinctly described both the mood and the activities in Palestine during World War II:

"In Palestine itself, the British government meanwhile found themselves under heavy attack. In addition to political pressure, a terrorist campaign by illegal armed Jewish groups developed against the British. The largest of these groups was the Haganah, which took directions from the Jewish Agency for Palestine. More daring and more ruthless were the Stern and Irgun organizations that functioned largely 'underground,' using guerilla tactics.

"Arab leaders, while generally recognizing the need to help the troubled Jews of Europe, saw no valid reason why their resettlement should be achieved largely at the expense of Palestine Arabs. They thus strongly opposed a policy of bringing them to Palestine, contending that the countries of the world should open their doors to admit homeless Jews."

In the U.S. both during and after the war, political activity on the part of the Zionist movement quickened, organizing itself into action groups throughout the United States. In 1944, planks were inserted in the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties calling for the opening of Palestine to unrestricted immigration and the establishment there of a "free and democratic commonwealth." In 1945, both the House of Representatives and Senate passed resolutions calling for

the U.S. to use its good offices to open Palestine for immigration and to establish a Jewish home there.

Few people outside the Arab world knew of the history of the struggle inside Palestine. The high degree of organization of the World Zionist movement and the relative disorganization and lack of leadership of the Palestinian Arabs made the public relations outcome almost totally one-sided.

The British Want Out

In 1947, exhausted by the War and increasing problems created by illegal Jewish immigration into Palestine, Britain asked the United Nations to take on the burden. A U.N. Committee on Palestine eventually submitted a proposal for a partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, with economic union and a U.N. Trusteeship for Jerusalem and the Holy Places. The U.N. General Assembly approved the plan in November 1947, by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions. The Soviet Union voted for partition and the U.S. exerted heavy pressure on a number of delegations to support the plan. The creation of what the Arabs saw as a European state in their midst, contradictory to the promises and to their dreams of nationalism made them feel betrayed. Their reaction was violent. Riots took place throughout the Arab world immediately following the U.N. vote. It was clear that the partition plan could not

be peacefully implemented, so the U.N. Security Council in 1948 asked for a special session to consider once again "the future government of Palestine." Reflecting more careful second thoughts, the U.N. delegation took the lead in proposing a U.N. Trusteeship to follow the end of the British mandate on May 15, 1948.

Yet President Truman, on April 23, 1948, sent word privately to Dr. Weizmann that if the Jewish state were to proclaim its independence at the end of the mandate, the United States would immediately recognize it. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed, and President Truman announced immediate recognition by the United States. This news came as a bombshell to the American Ambassador to the U.N. who at the time was still working on the trusteeship policy.

Dr. Davis described the effect of the creation of Israel:

"For the Zionist Jews, May 14, 1948, was a day of triumph and jubilation. For the Arabs, it was a day of bitter humiliation and of determination to reclaim the precious soil of Palestine."

The Jewish state of Israel had been established in Arab lands. A combination of events and well-organized efforts of the Zionist movement had tragically made the Arabs pay for the

sins of Hitler and others who had, in the past, mistreated the world's Jews. **The Arab Refugees From Palestine**

Following the U.N. partition vote in 1947, Arab irregular troops entered Palestine to join the Palestinian Arabs in the fight against the Haganah (the Jewish Armed Forces). Immediately following the declaration of Israel as a state, the armies of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria entered Palestine, beginning the second phase of the Palestine war.

The Arab armies were defeated by the Israeli armed forces prior to the 1949 truce arranged by the United Nations, but not before Israel accomplished two objectives of vital importance to its existence as a state.

Can Peace Be Achieved?

Israel expanded its boundaries at the further expense of the Palestinian Arabs, and drove most of the Arab residents of Palestine from their homes and lands so that a Jewish majority within its boundaries was assured.

Although a relatively small number of Arabs left Palestine before 1948 to avoid the continuous conflict, the greatest impetus to refugee flight was after the massacre of the Arab population of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948.

Deir Yassin, a small village west of Jerusalem, was attacked by two Jewish

terrorist organizations, the Irgun and the Stern Gang. The International Red Cross representative, Jacques de Reynier, reported that 254 men, women and children were slaughtered under barbarous circumstances.

Word of the Slaughter at Deir Yassin spread throughout Palestine, doing more to drive Arabs out of their homes than any other single act.

In his book on the *Irgun*, its Commandant, Menachem Begin, wrote that as a consequence of the massacre, the Arabs "were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives . . . In the rest of the country, too, the Arabs began to flee in terror even before they clashed with Jewish forces."

By July 12, 1948, only 170,000 Arabs remained in Israel.

In December, 1949, the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East estimated 726,000 Palestinians were refugees because Israel blocked their return to their homes. The number of refugees registered with the U.N. by May 31, 1967 (just before the 6-day war) had risen to 1,345,000.

It is the opinion of many Middle East scholars that removal of the Palestinians was the only way for a Jewish state to be established along the lines envisioned by the Zionist

1.5 Million Palestinian Refugees—Victims of Power Politics



Refugee camps, such as these in East Jordan, have been a way of life for hundreds of thousands of Palestinian families. More than 1.5 million of the 2.7 Palestinians of the world are registered as refugees with the United Nations.

movement. Had large numbers of Arabs been allowed to remain within a newly created Israel, they would have had a majority, thereby preventing political control by the Zionists.

The dispossession of the Palestinian refugees remains the root of the Middle East problem. The cause of all the Arab-Israeli wars since 1948 is, in my opinion, ultimately traceable to the forcible eviction of the Palestinians from their homes and their subsequent existence in miserable refugee camps.

From the refugee camps — with poor sanitation, inadequate food and shelter, and scarce jobs — have sprung anger and bitterness that will not be easily quieted. Many young men of the refugee camps have taken up weapons in guerrilla warfare against Israel. A small number mistakenly and tragically believe terrorism is the only way to call attention to their cause. The plight of the Palestinian people has become such a celebrated cause in the Middle East it has dragged other Arab nations into the intermittent conflict with Israel. It has even caused a conservative and strongly pro-American Saudi Arabia to shut

off oil to the United States until we use our influence on Israel to return Arab lands taken in 1967 and to require it to deal with the question of Palestinian refugees.

Can Peace Be Achieved?

Since 1948, incidents along Israel's borders have been almost continuous, along with Arab economic boycotts against Israel. When President Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in the invasion of Egypt's Sinai Desert. President Eisenhower used his influence to force a withdrawal from Egyptian territory by those three nations.

Border tensions continued until 1967 with rapidly escalating skirmishes both on the ground and in the air in the Golan Heights area in Syria. During May of 1967, reports circulated through the Arab world that Israel was building up for an attack on Syria. The credibility of these reports have since been challenged but they did result in an Arab buildup in response to a perceived threat. Western diplomacy failed to stop what appeared to

be certain warfare, and on June 5, 1967, Israel attacked Egypt, Jordan and Syria, destroying their air forces on the ground and routing the Arab armies. The Arab territories taken by Israel in 1967 have remained a major point of contention and were the principal cause of the 1973 war.

Return of the Arab Lands

Reflecting its basic principle that no nation should take by force lands belonging to another nation, in 1967 the U.N. passed Resolution #242 which called for the return of Arab lands by Israel.

Although Israel has claimed that she will not give up the lands because they provide military security from attack, Israeli economic development of the Sinai and Jerusalem and the pumping of large amounts of oil from occupied Egyptian territory make it clear that much more than security is involved. The Arabs fear Israeli desire to keep on expanding her borders at the expense of the Arab countries. A comparison of the Middle East map beginning in 1948 and leading up to 1973 shows the basis of the Arab fears.

If the United States intends to subscribe to the principle that nations should not profit territorially by warfare, then it must do what it can to influence Israel to return the 1967 occupied territories.

Israel's real security lies in being able to get along with her neighbors, and not in living as a garrison state. The October war has proved that holding the captured territories only advances the likelihood of war for Israel, not increased security.

The Role of the United States

Unfortunately, United States Middle East foreign policy has been less than admirable. It has been an almost total failure so far as protection of American interests are concerned.

Our interests in the Middle East will be advanced by peace and as much justice as can be obtained at this late date in the Arab-Israeli struggle. I for one do not want to see one more Israeli or one more Arab die because of that conflict.

Instead of trying to calm the tensions and to act with some sort of understanding of the conflict, the United States government has been actively supplying arms to Israel. This policy has done a great deal to infuriate the Arab nations, most of whom have been pro-American. In

THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEE QUESTION

Of the estimated 2,700,000 Palestinians in the world, 1,510,000 are registered as refugees with the United Nations. They are distributed as follows:

Lebanon	185,000
East Jordan	550,000
West Jordan	280,000
Gaza	325,000
Syria	170,000
TOTAL	1,510,000

Since 1948, Palestinians who have had skills or professions have been resettled and have found employment. But about 70% of all the refugees since 1948 have been agricultural workers who could not be placed in the Arab economies where agricultural workers are already in a surplus. Some children born in the camps have been trained and employed, but most grow up without either work or skills because of insufficient money for training programs.

Some people in Israel have refused to acknowledge the existence of a people of Palestine until after the October, 1973 war. Prime Minister Golda Meir has said:

"There was no such thing as Palestinians." (6/15/69)

"How can we return the occupied territories if there is nobody to return them to?" (3/9/69)

Earlier this year, however, Mrs. Meir said that there is plenty of room for the refugees in Jordan.

Some have proposed that a separate state be created on the West Bank (of the Jordan River) to place the refugees. King Hussein of Jordan has proposed a federated Jordan with a semi-autonomous West Bank.

But all of these "solutions" have been proposed without any consultation with the real victims of power politics in the Middle East — the Palestinians themselves.

It would make more sense to consult the Palestinians as to what is to be done with them. While there is no solid agreement among the refugees, some would want to return to Palestine (now Israel), some would most likely want to form a separate state of their own, and some would want to be resettled in the countries in which they are now living if the countries can absorb them. But the choice should be the Palestinians'! Unless the Palestinians accept whatever is to happen to them, the political problems will remain, along with continued conflict.

fact, with these policies, we have accomplished for the Soviet Union what it has been unable to do for years — obtain a solid foothold in the Middle East.

The Arabs do not understand why the United States has provided the war material used against them when they have done nothing against the United States. This supply effort over the past 3 to 4 years, combined with announcement of our massive \$2.2 billion re-supply of Israel by President Nixon, finally drove America's staunch ally, King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, to stop the flow of oil to the United States.

The Arabs view their cause as just — as an effort to regain their own lands and to achieve some solution of the Palestinians refugee problem. They fail to see why United States foreign policy is blind to these efforts, and why we support the U.N. Resolution #242, but do not support their efforts to implement it. The United States this year vetoed a resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council which provided that the Arab lands be returned to them.

The Israeli lobby in the United States has pushed hard to keep the flow of American arms and money going to Israel, as well as a highly effective public relations campaign designed to maintain strong public support for Israel and animosity toward the Arabs. But their highly successful results have put the United States in an undesirable position with respect to Middle East foreign policy. In fact, when one surveys the position which the United States is in today because of our Middle East policy, we see the shocking results:

- The Soviet Union has a strong foothold in what has ordinarily been an anti-communistic Arab world.
- A strong split has been developed between our NATO allies and ourselves.
- A shutdown of Middle East oil has created both physical and economic hardship here in the United States.

In this article I have attempted to give the readers some background and my opinion on this crucial part of our government's policy. I will welcome your views and I am interested in what you think. Please write me at 1105 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.
January 1974 James Abourezk, U.S.S.

JERUSALEM: A View from Inside

by Rev. H. Ken Carmichael

Seven of us were gathered in a second floor flat of the Hostel in St. George's Close, East Jerusalem. We were planning the sixth annual Holy Week drama, *At The Cross*. It was early in 1968 on a quiet winter evening.

I had returned briefly to the city in the fall of 1967 to learn whether the churches and the East Jerusalem YMCA, official sponsor of the community-wide drama, felt that circumstances were favorable to a continuation of the production despite occupation by Israeli military forces and Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem. The decision by key personnel to proceed was unanimous.

So, four months later, some of us were gathered at the Close to outline a preliminary production scheduled for the annual ten performances in English and Arabic.

Our conversation was cut short by a blast which rocked the building and banged casement windows above our heads. There were seconds of silence in which our glances expressed one thought: "Surely not in Jerusalem itself?" Then a second blast ripped the calm and brought us to our feet. In a few minutes our guesses were confirmed by telephone: a building three blocks away had been blown up by an Israeli demolition unit.

Early the next morning I covered with my camera the twisted wreckage that had been an attractive reinforced concrete residence. No army personnel were about. Silent spectators were numerous. Later in the day soldiers arrived with bulldozers and trucks. Next morning I returned with my camera: the corner lot on which the house had stood was level. No trace of the building remained.

Other buildings in occupied territory had been destroyed by the army since

June, 1967, but this was the first instance of its kind in Arab Jerusalem. The reason for the act fell into an already familiar pattern: a relative of the Palestinian Arab owner was being held without charge on suspicion of subversion; the owner's property had been destroyed to demonstrate the foolhardiness of failure to cooperate fully with the occupying power.

This was a clear breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which Israel is a signatory and which expressly forbids the blowing up of houses and the destruction of property.¹ It was not my first encounter with disregard for international agreement, nor was it the last; Jerusalem has been the scene of countless violations, before and since.

The record has been well publicized. Scores of Palestinian homes have been demolished in the walled city to clear a plaza before the Wailing Wall so that tourists may park and Orthodox Jews may pray. Palestinian occupants of the area have been moved by mass transfer to other parts of occupied territory.² Individual Arab residents of Jerusalem have been deported. Thousands of acres of Arab-owned land in and around East Jerusalem have been expropriated by the government for erection of official buildings and ugly multi-storied apartment blocks which ultimately are to ring the city and accommodate from 50,000 to 75,000 Jews from other parts of Israel.

It is the consensus of knowledgeable Christian residents that the Christian population of Jerusalem is steadily diminishing.³ In a decade or so the Old City may be overwhelmingly a Jewish community.

To all of which the response of the Western Christian is likely to be, "So what? They'll get it eventually, one way or the other." I am inclined to agree, but not for the reasons advanced by many of my friends and colleagues, some of whom regard this Judaizing of Jerusalem of a piece with the creation of Israel itself: the return of the Chosen People to Zion and the Promised Land as fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. Others, regarding the Jew as the underdog in history, as well as the target of brutal anti-Semitism, view the enforced occupation of Palestine as a logical recompense and reward for centuries of oppression. I regard neither view as tenable in the light

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either of Biblical scholarship or of political realities.

Barring a major upheaval in international relations Jerusalem is destined for much less fanciful reasons to become a Jewish city with a small minority of Christians and Muslims.

In the first place, Israel's Knesset announced in January, 1950, that Jerusalem had been its capital since Independence. Indeed the Israeli parliament had been meeting regularly in Jewish West Jerusalem since the armistice agreements were signed in 1949. On June 29, 1967, Israel formally annexed Arab East Jerusalem. Since that date the municipal boundaries have been steadily expanded to include much of the 67 square-mile area proposed for internationalization by the United Nations 25 years ago. Thus, for all practical purposes—and despite non-recognition of Israel's claims to Jerusalem on the part of the UN and the USA—East Jerusalem is *not* occupied territory; nor is its status negotiable.

In the second place, the 25-year record Israel has established in refusal to comply with UN resolutions of censure is adequate evidence that the state does not intend to let international judgment stand in its way. Other more convincing proof of this intent—or so it appears in the Middle East—can be seen in the Israeli terrorist murders in Beirut, the shooting down of one unarmed commercial airliner, and the hijacking of another.

I, along with many other Western residents in Jerusalem, long ago wearied of the romantic fancies created by some Western Christians to justify Jewish claims to political control of all of Jerusalem. To quote from one recent example:

"For the vast majority of the world's Jews, Israel—people and land, conceived in an inseparable amalgam—is of the very essence of religion. The observance of Torah and love of Israel are inseparable; Israel meditates God's love to his people and to the world. And if Israel is the essence, Jerusalem is the quintessence. In Jerusalem are concentrated and focused all of the emotions and aspirations that collect around Israel. It is the center of the center; the pinpoint at which God and man are uniquely in touch."⁴

The author of this rhetorical exercise acknowledges elsewhere that "personal experience of the incarnation of Christ"



Inside the walled city: East Jerusalem.



Outside the walled city: West Jerusalem.

is important to Eastern Orthodox Christians, and "one of the most important modes for such experience is literal, physical contact with the sites and scenes of Jesus' life."⁵ What he fails to see is that to the devout Orthodox Christian in the Middle East, Jerusalem is as central as it is to an Orthodox Jew in Israel. Anyone who has lived in East Jerusalem over a number of years and seen the pilgrimage of Eastern Orthodox Christians to the Holy Sepulcher recognizes an attachment as strong and as emotionally, religiously and psychologically significant as that evidenced by Orthodox Jews at the Wailing Wall.

The attachment of most indigenous Latin Christians (Roman Catholics) to Jerusalem is a different thing. For them worship in community is more important than individual prayers at an ancient tomb. The Latin churches traditionally have served, largely through the Franciscan Order, in an important custodial capacity in Jerusalem, owning and supervising the use of many of the holy sites of the city, principally for providing places of worship.

More slender still is the attachment of indigenous Protestant Christians, among whom worship in spirit is stressed over worship at a particular place. This attitude is a reflection of Jesus' admonition to the Samaritan woman: "The hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father." He added that the time had already arrived "when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth."⁶

The unimportance of place in worship has also had its place in Judaism. Isaiah railed against vain offerings and appointed feasts: "New moon and sabbath and the calling of assemblies—I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly."⁷ Much later Micah proclaimed that what the Lord requires

is not burnt offerings of thousands of rams and rivers of oil, but "to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God."⁸ So far as the great prophets were concerned, true worship did not take place unless it took place *outside* the Temple and *beyond* Jerusalem.

Western Christians can find better cause for their search for the peace of Jerusalem than the preservation of archeological sites and the places set aside by tradition and sentiment as holy. "Holiness is not primarily where Jesus once walked but where he is walking today, not where he once bled but where he is bleeding today and where he is coming alive today."⁹ A solution for the continuing tensions and bitter enmities within a Jerusalem still divided after 25 years is urgently needed because in that city enormous injustices have been dealt to people who have been given no effective voice in their destiny.

I am inclined to regard the blowing up of that one house a few blocks from St. George's Close as more important to the human race than the debate about who will supervise what holy place. I am inclined to attach to justice and kindness and to the lives of all Jews, Muslims and Christians an importance far greater than that of who will occupy Jerusalem and sit on its geographical sites and archeological piles of stone.

An early edition of the English language version of *The Jerusalem Bible* includes a typographical error in Psalm 122 which is almost prophetic. Instead of "Pray . . ." it says: "Pay for peace in Jerusalem . . ."¹⁰

Lasting peace may not come to Jerusalem—simply because most of us are unwilling to pay the price of involvement in, or support of, the forces of justice and mercy.

FOOTNOTES

¹ From Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention: "Any destruction by the

occupying power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons or to the State or to other public authorities or to social or cooperative organizations is prohibited except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary for military purposes."

² From Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention: "Individual or mass forcible transfers as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country occupied or not are prohibited, regardless of their motive. The occupying power shall not deport or transfer a part of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

³ A thorough treatment of this phenomenon has been prepared by the Most Rev. Joseph T. Ryan in *Some Thoughts on Jerusalem*, in his paper published in the LINK.

⁴ William Harter in "Jerusalem," *Church and Society*, July-August, 1972, Vol. LXII, Number 6, p. 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶ John 4:21,23

⁷ Isaiah 1:13,14

⁸ Micah 6:7,8

⁹ Frank H. Epp in *Whose Land Is Palestine?*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1970, p. 238.

¹⁰ *The Jerusalem Bible*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London 1966

ISRAEL AND SINAI

This letter appeared in the Christian Science Monitor Feb. 6, 1974. It is reprinted with permission of the author.

It is gratifying at long last to see the tortoise of fact overtaking the hare of propaganda in the case of the Middle East.

Thomas Stauffer's excellent article on the economic importance of Sinai to Israel sets forth one aspect of the situation plainly. The seizure of the Sinai oil fields and the closure of the Suez Canal, plus the Israeli built pipeline (Elath to Ashkelon) currently contributes more than \$400 million annually to Israeli coffers and denies to Egypt some \$600 million yearly, according to Mr. Stauffer.

But that is by no means the whole story.

In addition to oil, Sinai's mineral wealth includes phosphates, manganese, lead, zinc, copper, bitumen, malachite, iron, coal and turquoise. In the early '60's, 9,000 acres of land

had been reclaimed using trench waters and artesian wells. At El Arish castor plantations had become an important crop, while in 1966, in northern Sinai, Bardawel Lake yielded 2,000 tons of fish.

In February, 1967, Egypt had completed the first phase of a project to carry Nile water to the Sinai peninsula; 20,000 acres of land were reclaimed, ten villages were being built for landless fellahen, new roads and a network of canals had already been completed. The full project, which was to have been completed in 1975, would have reclaimed for cultivation 80,000 acres and provided a home and fine productive acres for each of 17,000 families. The Six Day War of June, 1967, wrecked the project. The livelihood of some 100,000 Egyptians was destroyed and about 25,000 Egyptians were killed or wounded. A full 15 years of Egyptian labor and investment was obliterated.

This debacle came on top of that perpetrated by the Israelis in their first invasion of Sinai in 1956. At that time "veritable forests of El Arish date palms" stretched for several miles along the seashore, plantations of striking "freshness and vitality." While at Gaza the land was also "scrupulously and intensively cultivated." The quoted remarks are those of Israeli Gen. Moshe Dayan, at present Defense Minister, who bravely wrote in his "Diary of the Sinai Campaign," "it will be necessary to ship something like 300,000 cases of citrus fruits from Gaza to Europe through the port of Haifa." He also noted Gaza exported annually 5,000 tons of "giant juicy watermelons." His plans were duly realized — as the proud "product of Israel" marks on some of U.S. supermarket fruit attest.

So much for the tortoise of fact. The hare of propaganda, of course, has consistently claimed that Israel took over unoccupied sands and singlehandedly made the desert wilderness bloom.

Williamville, Vt. Helen A. Blackway

NOTICE

Those wishing to order the film, **JERUSALEM: PROPHETS OR PARATROOPERS**, are requested to write rather than telephone. The address is: Middle East Affairs Council, 4005 47th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

Use this CONVENIENT ORDER FORM for books, etc.

1. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, editor, **THE TRANSFORMATION OF PALESTINE**, \$2.29 (paperback). Columbia University. Distinguished scholars reexamine the history and development of Palestine during the mandate period and the issues underlying the Arab-Israeli conflict. Our price \$9.00.

2. Margaret Arkia, **THE BROKEN SWORD OF JUSTICE: AMERICA, ISRAEL, AND THE PALESTINE TRAGEDY**, 195 pp., \$2.50 (hardback), \$1.50 (paperback). Quartet Books. The author out of her own experience, with various U.N. agencies traces the development of U.S. foreign policy in relation to Israel and of pro-Israeli pressures on the White House Congress. Our prices \$5.75 (hardback) and \$3.45 (paperback). Supply very limited.

3. John H. Davis, **THE EVASIVE PEACE**, 124 pp., \$1.50. John Murray. A former Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) writes of the facts of the Arab refugees. Our price \$2.10.

4. Elinor Elliott, **PURNACE OF THE LORD: REFLECTIONS ON THE EXAMINATION OF THE HOLY CITY**, 129 pp., \$4.55. Doubleday. A probing investigation of conditions in Jerusalem from Arab and Israeli points of view. Our price \$2.95.

5. Frank Epp, **WHOSE LAND IS PALESTINE?** 283 pp., \$3.95 (paperback). Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. Challenges Western Christians to take the lead now to redress the wrongs they have helped to inflict on Arab peoples and to do this in a manner that avoids new persecution of the Jews. Our price \$2.25.

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Calendar No. 624

93D CONGRESS }
1st Session }

SENATE

REPORT
No. 93-657*Estimated assistance to Israel—fiscal year 1974 and cumulative assistance—fiscal years 1949-73*

	<i>Estimated fiscal year 1974</i>
I. Military assistance:	
1. Emergency military assistance	\$2,200,000,000
2. Military credit sales authorized in the Foreign Assistance Act	300,000,000
Total, military	2,500,000,000
II. Economic assistance:¹	
1. Supporting assistance	50,000,000
2. Aid for Soviet immigrants	36,500,000
3. Public Law 480 food aid	58,865,000
4. Aid to Israeli educational institutions	4,000,000
Total, economic	149,365,000
Total assistance, fiscal year 1974	2,649,365,000
Assistance, fiscal years 1949-73	3,112,100,000
Total assistance, fiscal years 1949-74	5,761,465,000

¹ Does not include housing investment guaranties.

Estimated private flows to Israel as a result of the war¹

I. Worldwide fund raising goal set after outbreak of the war:	
1. United Jewish Appeal	\$1,900,000,000
2. Government of Israel bonds	(1,250,000,000)
Total	(650,000,000)
II. Funds to be raised in the United States:	
1. United Jewish Appeal	750,000,000
2. Government of Israel bonds ²	487,500,000
Total to be raised in United States	1,237,500,000

¹ Data from Department of State.

² Estimated at 75 percent of worldwide total.



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